614 /1 cont./
554 for delaying menstruation during the seclusion following the
[842] appearance of puberty, so that the organism may become weakened and the menstrual cycle no longer appears, with which their matrimonial life does not bear fruit. They know beforehand /2/ the destiny of their children. When they become
[567] of useful age a stronger group will fall upon them to enslave them under any pretext -- such as the loss of an animal whose disappearance will be attributed to them without any outcry or civil authority aroused to impede this, and, the injustice inflicted being proved, without any punishment being applied to the aggressor group. Their daughters will be taken as wives
614 without the necessary Guajiro payment, or, simply, they will
554 abuse them, there being no family backing to oppose the de-
593 mands of the men belonging to the stronger groups. If a daughter should be bought, only a nominal payment will be made to silence the protests of her family, but later a very heavy matrimonial retribution will be demanded. Generally, the husband will brag about the way in which he ill-treats the girl, knowing that she is unprotected and that her relatives have insufficient power to demand justice. Thus it is not rare that poor wives are killed by their husbands after a life in which the unfortunate women have been subjected to cruel beatings and even mutilation. And if the family has no alliance with any powerful groups, the death is not indemnified. The mothers also know that should
614 one of their sons, accidentally or in self-defense, wound or kill
554 a member of a stronger family group, the repirsal taken will
628 not be preceded by a demand for compensation payment or any of the legal requirements usually stipulated, but that his whole group will be destroyed or enslaved and deprived of its clan lands, fields, sources of water supply, and personal effects. For such reasons these weak groups are allowing themselves to die out by reducing their birth rate to a minimum.

842 Regarding the special wishes of each group as to the sex of its future descendants, we feel the need of making an analysis of the valuation which each has in the society.

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865 4. The child should adopt certain habits in the conduct of his relations with his parents and relatives: to listen submissively to remarks without a haughty reply or showing unwillingness to carry out orders or making gestures that might appear arrogant; never to give a rude answer to whoever gives them orders about their work; never to answer discourteously nor in a way to show displeasure or arrogance when reprehended or punished nor to run away in these circumstances, as then the punishment would be greater; never to use bad words in Spanish as that implies a double offense: that of making use of a foreign language as well as bad words as such, besides coarseness and insults between adults lead to the compensation payment, which (as all of these social payments do) falls on the relatives. /31/

191 195 689

5. Besides aggressive acts toward his elders, we have those that can occur with his playmates or his own relatives and which acquire a more serious character when they affect his friends from other clans, and when from the verbal offense -- which may also have to be compensated -- they pass to fighting, because if blood should be shed the mother of the injured boy will make her claim for compensation payment (unless both combatants are hurt, in which case it is cancelled). In these cases of bloodshed, as will be seen hereafter, the relative social and economic strength or weakness of each of the clans to which the combatants belong is an important factor, as the stronger group always imposes its interpretation of justice on the weaker. These are the reasons that compel the mother to try to prevent her children from playing with those of another clan to forestall such possible claims. In spite of this, however, the boys escape her vigilant eye, ignore her orders, and manage to get together in most of their boyish activities. The prohibition to join up with boys of another clan develops also from the fact that if a boy is invited to join another group and some accident should occur, the responsibility will fall on the group of the boy who extended the invitation.

865 593 The relationship between siblings is usually peaceful especially between those of the same sex. They readily become comrades.

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865 593 Nevertheless, there are cases where the elder brother attempts to impose his authority and oblige a younger brother to obey his orders, building up his part. From ten years of age onward the relation between brothers and sisters becomes rougher and occasionally quarrelsome, but after passing puberty and initiation, when the girl has become a woman and the boy an adult, their relationship takes on a definite shape, to be reflected in the future friendship between the two and in the ties that will exist between the brothers and the children of the sisters, over whom they will exercise their authority and protection.

We have already described one of the aggressive acts between brothers on the part of the older toward the younger, in the theft of food behind the back of the mother or whoever represents authority /in the home/. There is another form of aggression which the younger child adopts in order to get what he wants from his elders and from his siblings: He throws himself on the ground, where he rolls and kicks, screaming and crying inconsolably. His mother punishes him to stop him from giving way to his bad temper, considering his action harmful because when big he might continue with his rages and while in that mood cause grave injury to his people and to himself. For in reality when the Guajiro becomes furious, he goes completely out of his mind and commits deeds he would not dream of doing in his proper senses. If he cannot get his way he becomes so angry /32/ that often he will hang himself, doing this in such a rage that he loses his instinct of self-preservation and even when he is half dead will insist on finishing himself off, so throwing the responsibility of his death onto the person who caused his bad temper. If his mother is unable to control these exhibitions of childish rage, it will continue with him during his youth and as a man will become increasingly worse, often causing him to leave home in the excess of his fury and giving rise to suicide when he is thwarted or opposed.

152 865 [762]

864 835 6. Delinquent acts that may appear among children about ten years old are the sexual relations between girls and their brothers when the latter are busy with their pastoral tasks and

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861 Another very usual reaction is that of learning each day to dissemble and show astuteness in avoiding punishment. When he sees the attention of his mother or his elders is distracted, he will do what has been forbidden: go to visit at a neighboring house, steal food, climb trees, etc. Later he will lie barefacedly to avoid the possible punishment.

861 When a boy is very frequently punished, which does happen in some homes where the mother is continually beating the chil-
593 dren, the child becomes sullen and withdrawn; he stays away from home, passing most of his time out and about or in the neighbors' houses, endeavoring to avoid the presence of his parents. We have heard of a mother who asked her eldest son, who was in Venezuela, for money as she needed it urgently. His answer was: "I have no mother. She was a tyrant to me and to my brothers, and I plan to bring them here with me so she will not be able to beat them for nothing. I will send her no money as she was always so wicked and cruel she does not deserve it." When the mother learned of this reply, her reaction was to
[762] cruelly beat all her younger children as a warning to them not to do what their elder brother had done. The husband reprehended her for her cruelty, and she ended by hanging herself. There are several similar cases which show the later resentment of some sons against their parents for the harshness of their treatment during their childhood. A boy can bear a permanent grudge, and as soon as he feels strong enough to oppose his will to that of his mother or his elders in general, he becomes stubborn and
[762] stands up to them. On occasion, if opposed in his deepest feelings and blind with fury because of some punishment inflicted,
[689] he will hang himself, by which deed the consequences of his death fall on the originator of the punishment, as the other parent will put in a claim for compensation payment, alleging that the boy was so exasperated it drove him to /36/ to take his own life. This law of obligatory payment tends to limit the application as well as the violence of the punishment, although, in spite of it children are cruelly treated in many homes.

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868 721 604 in the way they are used. When taking part in the these warlike operations he makes use of all his social and legal training, and puts into practice the tradition of his group, besides which the basic principle of consanguineous relationship, mutual aid, and backing to resist aggression from outside elements is brought home to him.

593 604 178 It is almost entirely from his maternal uncle that he learns the cultural patterns of his masculine world, as the uncle becomes for him a mold and patterns, whose example he should follow as the leading male figure on the family level. But with the process of acculturation the influence of the father has now come to the fore. Nowadays, when the father expresses a wish that his first-born should be a son, to be a companion to him in his life as a shepherd, he thereby indicates that it is he who is going to educate his sons, or at least the first-born, supplanting to a certain extent the old family figure represented by the maternal uncle. In this case the boy shares with his father the care of his own livestock as well as his father's herd, and even his mother's dowry when her elder relatives consider it advisable. And there, as in the previous case, the boy learns both the economic and cultural side of group life and becomes attached to his father both in affection and materially, a tie that did not exist before but may lead him later to take a hand in his interest, thus bringing about something previously unheard of in Guajiro tradition, that the son goes to fight in the ranks of his father's group, without any consequent claim for compensation payment or other social demand being made.

Also, as when he is with his maternal uncle, he can join in and learn at his father's side agricultural lore, hunting, fishing, and how to go on excursions into the surrounding country; /42/ he also learns the technique of masculine occupations, but what it appears he cannot yet participate in is the political life of his father as cacique, or arbitrator, as this still remains an inheritance possible only from his maternal uncle, nor in the activities relating to the shaman /piache/ as an institution.

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593 With respect to the training of girls, the mother and the maternal relatives play an overwhelming part. When the family lives an isolated life, the influence of the maternal relatives diminishes, as we previously had occasion to see, but as the girl approaches puberty, she may be sent to the home of her grandmother or maternal aunts with whom she will live and whose influence will surround her at this period. We should moreover consider the occupations of a girl as she passes through different phases. When she is very young, in the poorer Guajiro
868 home, she is counted on as a helpmate to assist and replace the mother in her domestic duties so that with her and the other adult women of the family she learns to take her part in household activities: care of the children, drawing water and fetching firewood, cooking food, keeping up the fire, cleaning house, washing clothes, etc.

868 Later comes the time for her to help in the agricultural
462 work. As emigration has reduced the population of La Guajira
167 in the past few years, women have found themselves obliged to carry out work traditionally done by men. Thus there is a need to employ all hands available, and the girls of prepubertal age must contribute their help in the work. Although clearing away trees and underbrush and plowing are men's work, these are now being done by women in addition to the traditional jobs usually expected of them, such as sowing and harvesting, in which latter activity they are more effective than the men. The girls are trained in all these operations alongside the older women until they become completely expert.

868 Another angle of feminine economic life is weaving.
883 Only when she is at the prepubertal age, do the mother and her female uterine relatives take charge of training the girl, as they consider that at this age her babyhood is over and it is necessary that she should give up the freedom she has so far enjoyed in order to take an interest in weaving. If there is an aunt skilled /at weaving/ at home, she will teach the girl; if not, she goes to the home of some kinswomen and stays with

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58| harness for animals, and, when living among civilizado /nonnative/ groups, domestic service in the homes of whites and mestizos, the carrying of water and part of the agricultural work in areas, such as Nazaret, where cultivation is possible on the banks of streams, as well as in regions where only temporary cultivation is carried on. In places like Carrizal and Bahía Honda they collect divi-divi, and in the saltworks they do secondary work for pay or simply to assist their husbands.

58| This aspect of Guajiro marriage is so important that when
593 a man has abducted a woman and he is considering whether he
[684] will buy her or only make a payment for the abuse he has committed, he obtains plant filaments or cotton and sets her to work to make a hammock or a belt. If the woman is not capable he will reject her, as he will reckon that he should not pay for her a price as high as is being demanded. The fact that the woman is an independent economic unit with her children allows her husband to dedicate himself entirely to his pastoral work, to go to the men's gatherings and to the various fiestas, to participate in communal work when asked, to go off on hunting trips for weeks at a time, without having to worry about his home, to join up with his group to fight when necessary, to go traveling from place to place where his other women are, where he gets other economic assistance; in fact to lead a life without worry, although at the present time, owing to conditions of diverse nature, he is finding it necessary to change this pattern of living and to take a more active part in economic life, through the necessity to migrate or to work in the urban centers. This does not mean that he is forced to give more direct assistance to the home: He still follows the traditional way in which his help is only sporadic and absolutely voluntary, leaving to the wife's care the support of the home and of herself; only at the present time when he receives a day's wage for his work, he will drink more and spend more time in idleness while he is spending his earnings.

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581 The Indian also values the relatives of his future wife, be-
593 cause if she has rich relatives and he pays well for her, these
● will feel themselves obliged to supply her and her children with means of subsistence to live, freeing him from a responsibility which would otherwise restrict his freedom. /64/

To marry into an economically strong group has the advantage that this will bring to the marriage a dowry fitting his esteem, which the future husband will administer, as well as a series of gifts which the women's relatives will make to his children, and, what will increase his prestige, the number of ornaments, dresses, etc., which she will bring with her and in which she will appear in due time. Furthermore, although his marrying one of these women implies a heavy disbursement at the moment, in the long run he will receive suitable reimbursement with the payment for his first daughter to be bought, which belongs in full to the father.

584 Neither does the man disregard the social value of the
583 woman, above all in his first marriage, which is the one that represents it. By this purchase he and his relatives, as well as those of the girl, try to arrange an alliance which will reinforce two strong families or tighten the bonds between them. This induces them in many cases not to consider the choice of the bride (not so much at present), the elders freely making arrangements, in order to obtain the advantage of a high price, the linking with a group whom they fear, avoiding thus prejudice and strengthening friendship, but at the same time hazarding the possibility of the woman's committing suicide. This same fact is what permits the abduction of a woman, which is not considered such in the wide sense of the word but rather an acquiescence on the part of the woman's relatives, who look complacently on these relations, having confidence in the compliance with the payment on the part of the man. It is a deed which demonstrates good faith on the part of relatives on the woman's side to which the man must respond by arranging an immediate and satisfactory payment, if he does not want to

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584 have a serious stain placed on his prestige as a man in good
583 financial standing and one who complies with Guajiro law. So they test, unconsciously perhaps, the feelings of the two groups who are seeking the alliance: trust on one side and solvency and good faith of the other. It is a test of friendship in which each side puts in evidence the wish of surpassing the other.

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[191] Also figured in the social valuation of a woman is her knowledge of the language as this means in Guajiro that she has palabra /literally, "word"/ (Cf. Caciques), that is to say, that she has a wide knowledge of the language and can use it adequately in delicate situations in which it is necessary to bring to bear every oratorical gift and know how to measure her words and the customary phrases in order to attain her end or to guide the discussion to a level where the facts will follow the legal line. A woman, when she has these qualities, may act as a mediator in a quarrel, and on the result favorable to the person she has represented will depend her personal aggrandizement, by which she acquires prestige and is called in to mediate in even more complicated matters, /65/ by this means increasing her personal position and that of her group and converting other clans into satellites, submissive to her will, in payment for benefits received, thus still further increasing her power which indirectly extends to her husband. This acquisition is a cause for vanity and pride in the husband.

From this talent of tener palabra /literally, "to have word"/ there emerges a series of sequences which build up the social aspect of a home. A woman who possesses that quality knows the Guajiro social protocol and can fully comply with it, thus avoiding conflicts with other groups; she also knows the legal system of the peninsula and by such knowledge can protect the interests of her family group, including her husband, as she will confine his conduct to that which is established, which eases the husband's life and his relationships with his feminine relatives. She makes possible the knitting together of these two disparate elements and creates the bond of union between the

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555 two; she increases the man's prestige because in carrying out her
581 duties as mistress of his house and representative of the home,
593 she knows by suitable attentions (agreeable talk, preparation of food according to traditional custom, hospitality appropriate to the social standing of a guest, etc.) how to win everybody's appreciation, consideration, and respect.

Furthermore, as the maintenance of prestige rests partly on the wife, the knowledge of the psychic and legal life and customs of the society in which she lives enables her to act correctly and without errors. She will maintain due solemnity in carrying out the most important acts in life, as, for example: the seclusion of young women, marriage, illness, etc., so strengthening her status. She will also rule her family more correctly and constitute herself the guardian of tradition, which is so respected by the Guajiro and in which resides the strength of their culture.

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583 The price that the Guajiro man pays for his wife includes
636 several conditions among which is the assumed virginity as he will expect his wife to come to the marriage as such each time that marriage penetrates into his psychic life, and he will feel defrauded if she does not, so much more if the status of the bride is high and even more if she is his first wife.

The man takes into account various aspects of virginity:
[554] First, he finds a special attractiveness in the virgin woman for the satisfaction of deflowering her, which, apart from the sexual attractiveness, gives him in the future a reason for boasting and prestige, the halo of a fortunate man which /66/ fills him with pride and gives him a feeling of superiority. Second, and from the economic point of view, because he has paid the price asked, convinced that his wife is a property which belongs to him, wholly and exclusively. Third, because he thinks that if a woman has given herself to another man, secretly, it was because she was drawn to him by a great affection or because she is a

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591 themselves in any place, in accordance with the husband's convenience, since in this case also, it is he who must take chage of the economic necessities of the home. Generally, the residence is established in an urban center.

593 Family intervention in marriage. In the first marriage of a Guajiro man, the family plays an outstanding role, not only in respect to the woman but also to the man. In connection with the latter, the sense of co-operation and mutual aid of the clan group makes itself felt. The man of marriageable age is already economically independent, but he needs the help of his kin. The marriage payment /or installment/ is high, and he cannot cover it with his personal contribution. The aid of his consanguineous relatives puts him in the position of being obligated to them. He must then do something similar when a relative is in a like situation, and much later he will repay those who aided him when he receives the marriage payment for his first daughter.

Another aspect /in which the family plays an outstanding role is/ that of inheritance. The economic contribution given by his kin leaves out his children and his wife, since they have already received their inheritance in the person of the uterine relatives with the purchase price.

The two families take an active part in the ceremonies of negotiating for and buying the wife (Cf. Purchase procedure in Chap. V), and in those connected with her being returned, when she was not found to be a virgin at marriage, in cases of adultery, desertion of her home, or neglect or death of the children. (Cf. Valuation of virginity, and the woman, Adultery, and Dissolution of marriage in Chap. V. Maternity, Chap. VI.)

It falls to the wife's consanguineous group, according to their status, to supply the husband with means of subsistence when she is incapable of doing it herself. The group complies with this function as an obligation derived from the marriage payment.

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593 But the family influence of the woman's consanguineous kin is most marked and most decisive in her marital life when her marriage is the result of an illegal act: abduction or seduction. The reason for this rests or the fact that it brings into play the prestige of the clan group.

When the marriage is performed in accordance with the Catholic ritual, it is not unusual for the maternal family to use its influence in order to see that the marriage is accompanied by the traditional Guajiro marriage payment, with the object of ensuring that the new family cell will not remain outside society and outside Guajiro culture. /106/

833 Sexual life. The sexual aspect is one of the basic attractions in the matrimonial life of the Guajiro. The man expects his wife to satisfy him sexually, and similarly the woman when she marries knows beforehand that one of her principal duties is to have marital relations with her husband, and, more than that, to satisfy his inclinations in this matter, putting aside her own desires and wishes, offering herself willingly each time that he asks and adopting the positions that will give him greatest pleasure.

The woman gives no importance to her own wishes and whims in their marital relations for two reasons: first, because she considers and knows -- by reason of the instruction she received during her seclusion -- that that is her obligation and in great part the happiness of her conjugal life is based on it. Second, because /she knows that/ by satisfying even the smallest sexual caprices of her husband she acquires great dominance over him. For this reason she restrains the natural repugnance which these acts may cause her because, furthermore, she has to take into account that although a Guajiro may be quite satisfied and proud of his wife as the mistress of the house, as the administrator of the family possessions, as a good worker, as an expert in all cultural norms, etc., if with the passage of time and particularly with frequent maternity she loses her physical attractions, he will replace her with a younger woman, who will follow the

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833 general rule of giving herself up docilely as an instrument of pleasure to her husband in order to gain dominance over him and to gradually succeed in replacing the previous wife.

All these considerations impel the woman to make use of her sex appeal in the marriage in order to maintain her ascendancy over her husband and avoid at all cost that he should buy another woman who would cause her to lose her importance and her initial dominance. And it is also for this that she tries as far as lies in her power to retain the real source of her attractiveness and makes use of medicinal herbs or submits to a series of magic rituals designed to preserve her physical attractiveness and to prevent maternity to the point of making it impossible.

Although the Guajiro is passionately attached to the woman who gives him greatest /sexual/ satisfaction, he does not fail [513] to recognize and highly prize other qualities, especially when he is about to buy his first wife. The reason for this lies in the fact that she, and not the others, will represent him socially on all occasions of collective life.

Conjugal relations of a couple who are pure Indian are carried out openly without precautions against the presence of outsiders -- either at home or in the fields -- even in front of the smaller children, /107/ who from a tender age are accustomed to see calmly these biological acts.

If the woman gives way to the will of her husband who claims satisfaction at any time or place, she expects on her part a satisfaction of her own desires, to which the man accedes if possible for fear of adultery on the wife's part, which would lower his prestige.

515 833 The Guajiro is accustomed to live close to the woman or women whom he most desires, or to visit them frequently and spend long periods at their side. During these periods the other co-wives show jealousy or find opportunities for infidelity. Since in a way the husband's prestige rests on doing so, the Guajiro goes from one place to another cohabiting with his women without taking heed of his excesses as he thinks that this

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825 With respect to the fertilizing of viviparous animals, the Guajiro has certain empirical views obtained from personal observation and his frequent contact with animals. They know that the females of such animals undergo the phenomenon of menstruation but note that it is not definitely periodical and constant, but sporadic. During this biological process the female becomes fertile and looks for a male, because during this period she can make her contribution of menstrual blood. At such a time the male animal feels attracted to the female and he becomes heated, which results in his pursuing the female until he impregnates her. On mating, his semen enters and mixes with the blood in the womb, and thus the new embryo animal is formed, which, like the human being, requires a period of gestation before birth.

They have also observed that once the male has accomplished the fecundation, as menstruation does not return until after the birth takes place, the male does not become heated again for this female, but respects her. He observes this in contrast with man, who has carnal access to a pregnant female even in an advanced period of pregnancy.

593 Behavior of the woman with her husband. The payment which the man makes for the woman establishes the principle that compels her to take upon herself a series of material obligations attendant with the requirements of hospitality, feeding, clothing, and sexual satisfaction; and the nonmaterial ones of submission, obedience, and fidelity. To carry out the first, she avails herself of the money obtained from the sale of the woven articles which she can make, her personal property in livestock, and the corn fields /siembras/ and wild fruits.

When the husband arrives home the woman hurries to hang up his hammock in the enramada /bough-covered shelter/, as this attention is basic in the general norms of etiquette and of hospitality to visitors, relatives, or strangers /111/ who arrive at the house, but above all to the husband. If he returns from a hunting expedition she will have ready for him various containers

/111 cont./

593 of water so that the man can bathe before entering the house and can rest in his hammock in the enramada; she also provides clean clothes, that is, a belt and guayuco, the common dress. She will immediately bring him a refreshing drink made from wild fruits, corn, or yucca. If after a hunting expedition the husband returns home and does not find all these things ready, he will complain to the woman and reproach her for lack of attention. A few moments after the man's return, the woman should produce food, preparing a portion of the game he has brought home, trying to make a dish that will be to his taste. Later she will sit by his side on the ground at foot of the hammock on which he is resting, and she will t to him all that has happened during his absence and ... conduct of each and every member of the house in this lapse of time. If the man falls asleep she will stay silently at his side.

Another of the obligations of the woman to her husband refers to sexual satisfaction, which we have noted in a previous section.

Her duties in respect to feeding relate not only to the [264] obligation to supply him with food, but also to the special way of doing it -- to serve him the best portion in a special vessel and before anyone else in the house and to cook the food in accordance with the man's special taste.

593 Also the proper attention due to her husband's friends
574 when they come to the house is another of her obligations. It is customary for the man to bring his intimate friends to his first wife's house to entertain them, and his wife should then carry out adequately the part of a good housekeeper, complying with all the traditional norms of etiquette and hospitality, such as supplying them with hammocks in the enramada, bringing fresh drinks and especially a cup of coffee, and, whatever the hour of day or night they may arrive, giving them food in accordance with the tradition of her people and the particular rank of the visitors, and chatting

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593 574 with them, seated near her husband at the foot of the hammock he occupies. If it should happen that the husband and his friends are on a spree and have gone to the house to continue drinking, she may only take part by bringing them drinks, by answering briefly the questions they put to her, without entering into the man's conversation, because if she should the group would dissolve, beginning with the husband, who would angrily accuse her of being a meddler. Her behavior at these times must be very circumspect, and she should be ready to prevent any /112/ controversial discussion bordering on a quarrel, which might bring troublesome consequences. In case this should occur it is her obligation to calm and separate the contenders so that they may not do each other harm, and later to endeavor to calm the inflamed tempers.

574 If any visitor should arrive at the house when the husband is absent, the wife should attend to him properly, for if not the guest will complain to the husband of the discourtesies of his wife. But in these circumstances she should observe certain norms of conduct intended to defend her own honor. For example, a hammock should be slung in the enramada so that the visitor can rest, but she should never let him follow her into her room or into the house, because if her husband should hear of it he would bitterly reproach such behavior. Also any curious passer-by could recount the presence of a strange man in the room while her husband was away, giving the latter ample cause to complain openly, putting the woman's prestige in jeopardy. When the guest is resting in the hammock, she sits at the foot to attend to him, occupying herself with some manual labor which permits her to give her attention to the visitor.

593 The woman should show special interest in keeping up and improving her husband's belongings. It is her duty to keep his clothing, his weapons, his personal effects, etc., clean and in good repair and to be able to give a good account of all these when her husband asks about them. The

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• 913 same applies with respect to the livestock when the man is away from home; she must see to it that the boys or the servants take proper care of them.

If the husband falls ill she must look after him with great care and immediately inform his maternal relatives, so that if he should die she will not be blamed for his death. If it is necessary to seek the professional services of the shaman, she should first get the consent of his close relatives, who are those responsible for making such arrangements, and in the event that the shaman does intervene, she should offer her services, although generally he -- the shaman -- prefers to have a sister or the mother of his patient as his assistant in his magic operations. If it is one of the children who falls ill in the absence of the husband, her immediate duty is to send a messenger to tell him the news, in order to avoid later recriminations and claims for compensation payment on the part of the man should the child die. This last is due to the fact that the woman is responsible to her husband for what might happen to the children in his absence or in consequence of an order she has given. But this is reciprocal. For example, if because of any reprimand one of the children should commit suicide, the responsibility for his death falls on whoever was responsible for /113/ the admonition, who must pay to the other parent and his or her maternal relatives an amount decided upon.

The wife's attentions to her husband are most concentrated and clear when the man is drunk, as at this time she must not leave him and should go in search of him if he is alone when she learns he is intoxicated, in order to prevent his offending any outsiders by word or act. Such offense might give rise to annoyance and quarrels which might involve his family in troubles, in which her own relatives might become implicated, if she were not on the alert to avoid it, in which case she would be judged the guilty party. Furthermore, a man in this condition not only may cause offense to

/113 cont./

593 others, if his wife does not control him, but may even attempt to take his own life. If for any reason the drunken man not accompanied by his wife should commit suicide, the blame for this act would be fixed on the wife as the indirect cause, since her neglect would be considered to have led to his death. Her duty is therefore to lead him away from such places where he is likely to get into trouble and, if she cannot succeed in this, not to leave him for an instant while there is a possibility of a fight. She should also obey him promptly and gratify him in all his whims. Guajiro women state that the Indian when drunk becomes quite childish and self-willed, and when he is in this condition he will even ask his wife to sing him to sleep, fuss over him, let him lie in her lap, or ask her to lie with him in his hammock, all of which she should do to please him. Others, on the contrary, become aggressive, and it is then they revive the insults they have had to suffer in the past. The woman should remain silent when he is in this mood so as to give him no cause for possible argument, which might make the man beat her in his fury. Neither should the woman reproach the man for whatever ill-treatment she may receive from him when in this condition, but she should wait until after he has slept and the drunkeness is past. Afterward, when he asks her what happened during his drunken bout, she has an opportunity to make her protests, which he will carefully listen to, excusing himself the best he can or repaying in some way the wrong he has done her -- for instance by presenting her with a new robe, if during his tantrums he has torn her other one, or making protestations of his love for her and excusing himself, saying that he was not responsible for what happened while in that drunken condition and she should take no notice of it. The woman after these explanations should not bear rancor.

595 With regard to polygamy the woman must assume an attitude of resignation, put no difficulties in the way of a new co-wife, and if she is taken to live in the same house try to avoid friction and quarrels, treating her in a sisterly fashion without /114/ being jealous of her or her husband. When

/115 cont./

595 even to force to separate the rivals as insults pass from words to acts.

When a man dies his relatives go to the house where the death occurred and begin the wake according to his standing. His wives attend and must show their grief and occupy the place appropriate to them as wives of the dead man, and must carry out the traditional practices of their cult for the dead.

The wife is not obliged to make common cause with the husband. However, at the present time cases have been seen in which the wife of an assassin has been burned or tortured, because she was included in the category of consanguineous relatives of the husband. But their culture establishes the principle that women do not participate in the men's fights.

Behavior of the man. Although the Guajiro woman always
593 has the backing of her maternal relatives to counteract her husband's possible ill-treatment and although any such misbehavior on his part is illegal, women in general are not well treated, /a fact/ which many of them from various regions attribute to the problem of polygamy.

When a man has only one wife his life follows the cultural patterns, and he shows himself affectionate toward her, /116/ giving her and the children presents and voluntarily helping her to provide food and clothing. But when he buys another wife, the new one displaces the first one, who may be relegated to last place, although she keeps her social prestige as first wife through the economic and social backing of her family, which is considerable, and for this reason it is difficult for the husband to ill-treat her, so that the worst thing he can do is to abandon her.

He will abandon the other wives in turn, and they know it, but it sometimes happens that one of them attracts the attention of the man, and he abandons all the rest or makes them the victims of his constant ill-treatment.

This is what gives rise to the struggle of the woman against polygamy. She suffers and is bitterly resentful of her husband's marrying again. She thinks that it is because she no longer

/116 cont./

593 satisfies him, and she becomes jealous; and this jealousy and the recriminations which it causes may be the source of the quarrels between husband and wife so frequent in Guajiro homes.

A second cause of the ill-treatment from their husbands which the Guajiro women suffer is the inequality of status between the two. When the wife lacks effective backing, the man does not attempt to limit his quarrelsome conduct nor his reactions of anger. She on her part hides her problem from her relatives and from outsiders in order not to show the lowering of her prestige and position, which might be taken advantage of by third persons to further trouble her or her children.

593 A third cause is the abuse of the drunken man, who takes
578 advantage of fiestas or gatherings among themselves or outsiders to attend these parties and drink, or does the same without any excuse whatever. It is at these times that such a man shows the worst sides of his character. He becomes aggresive, looks, for quarrels with anyone, mulls over the past, and if he can finds some reason for taking offense, although it may be completely insignificant, and enlarges on it, giving free rein to his aggressive impulses -- for example, if a man's wife was not a virgin when he married her or he is not sure of her faithfulness. The slightest disobedience may be sufficient stimulus for the man to unleash his wrath against his wife, singing allusive songs about her lack of virginity before she was married or other faults and later passing from words to threats and then to acts, beating her and even mutilating her, as happened in Nazaret to two women belonging to a poor group whose drunken husband went to visit them. One of the women had her upper lip bitten off and the other woman was gravely injured. They hid the affair for a long time, /117/ but they were obliged to ask the Capuchin mission for help when the wound was already very infected. In another case the husband bit off his wife's nose. There are detailed cases of women who have had their ears torn off in moments like

/117 cont./

593 578 these or have been brutally kicked or beaten with sticks or dragged by their hair, etc. The only sanction, the claim made by the woman's family, is frequently not made, and these episodes end in one of two ways: First, with the death of the woman, in which case her husband makes some payment, under pressure of popular opinion of outsiders or of his own relatives, who refuse to admit into their midst a criminal with no justifiable motive, or because of the possible connections and alliances which his wife's relatives may be able to make in an extreme case like this. Second, with the suicide of the woman, since she hangs herself, blind with pain, anger, and mental suffering, and in order that the blame of her death may fall on her husband. This solution is tragic and very common, and as a result when a husband has murdered his wife, he tries to make it look like suicide. In Nazaret we witnessed one of these cases, where the death was made to appear to be suicide by hanging, when the real cause of the woman's death was a kick in the stomach. Among the information we gathered is a reference to a similar case in Lower La Guajira, in which the cause of death was discovered only when the relatives of the woman washed her body before enshrouding it, as is the custom in La Guajira.

593 837 A fourth cause of ill-treatment is suspected or proven unfaithfulness on the part of the woman; the resentment appears when the man gets drunk or when the woman disobeys or gives some reason for complaint. He says in this case: "You didn't obey me because what I order is not ordered by so-and-so" (here he uses the name of her lover if he knows it) or "by the man who has taken my place" (if he does not know or only suspects it.) Frequently, he adds insults and blows. In these cases of suspicion or proof of infidelity, the lack of understanding between the couple increases and the ill-treatment extends itself to the children, whose paternity the father is beginning to doubt. At times, although the infidelity has been clearly proved, the man does not leave his wife nor apply the corresponding legislation, because he loves her and

/117 cont./

593 prefers to pardon her, but the offense he has received shows
837 itself at times in aggressive action and ill-treatment, for which he is sorry later, as we have said.

When suspicion does not reach the proportions of reality, the married life of the couple is naturally less calm than it was. The husband tries to obtain proofs at all costs /118/ and lives a life of constant alertness, trying to induce his wife to confess and looking for an opportunity to catch her infraganti (for further explanation see the section Adultery in this chapter).

593 As a fifth cause of marital ill-treatment one may cite the woman's deficient compliance with the obligations she is supposed to undertake, which may result from two reasons: First, the husband may have paid a low price for her when he made the marriage payment arrangements; second, she may have been forced by her relatives to marry a man she did not like at a time when she was in love with another man. If the husband knows of this situation, he makes it a basis for his insults, refers to it as the palpable cause of her lack of attention to him and to the management of her home. He will say, for example: "You don't want to attend to me because I am not that so-and-so, whom you used to love so much. Of course you would be glad to serve and obey him in everything. But you will have to serve and attend to me, although you dont's like it, because you are my wife and not his."

On occasion it is disobedience of the husband's prohibitive orders which lead to his attack. He tells his wife, for instance, not to leave the house, and she in spite of this leaves the house and goes visiting somewhere. Then the Guajiro, believing his rights are being flouted, punishes and mistreats the woman in order to force her to submit to his every wish, which is to him a symbol of his manhood.

595 Relations between co-wives. Life between the different wives of a man fluctuates between genuine comradeship and an infernal struggle.

/124 cont./

837 again without any claim whatever. They may live together peacefully again without the man's making any reproaches, /at least/ when he is not drunk.

The causes which have extended the problem of adultery, together with prostitution, are very diverse and have made the oly type of law, already described, ineffective to a certain degree. Because in modern times infidelity does not occupy its former important place in the mind of the Guajiro; cases of it multiply and the previous scruple of regarding it as an antisocial act is disappearing. The growing emigration of men to Venezuela in search of work, which leaves women abandoned for long periods; the contact of women with other cultures which have different ideas about such matters; the economic misery accentuated by the long summers; the opportunity to earn a little money through extramarital relations, which helps to sustain them; the breaking up of native social institutions; and the easy ways that the guilty parties now have of escaping the consequences of their actions are all new causes, which together with the traditional ones which have led the Guajiro woman to break the social principle of marital fidelity -- such as being forced into a marriage when in love with another man; the lack of control and of sexual satisfaction resulting from one man's being permitted to have a great number of women -- all these causes tend to increase the problem of adultery now more than before, since in the old days the law was followed to the letter in spite of the social convulsions which its application might provoke.

[SC3] The attitude of a man who suspects his wife of infidelity is always one of violence, because he feels himself ostensibly defrauded; from then on he becomes a tyrant to his wife and takes advantage of every opportunity to hurt her, insult her, and pour scorn on her. The woman in such cases limits herself to emphatically and constantly denying her guilt and adopting the position of one unjustly accused. The testimony of someone who has surprised her in the act is necessary to make her

/136 cont./

622 than their own head, will solicit his intervention in special problems, especially when these refer to personal differences with groups stronger than themselves. This attitude is taken with the approval of the other cacique, who also on occasion will add his efforts to assist him when he wants to impress his point of view on another very strong clan group.

When a pact in which he has mediated or lent his assistance is not complied with, he must resort to force, if the noncompliance of the opposing party drives him to this extreme, so as not to lose his power and authority, and he has to give examples of great personal courage, exposing himself more than the other who go to back him up, if he does not wish to lose credit in the opinion of his own people as well as of outsiders, but to give the impression of a real headman, successfully directing any warlike actions that may develop. He should let himself be killed before yielding in his task, /137/ and fight on until he has made the enemy comply with the pact made and agree to the recognition of his authority and to complete submission. In this fighting all his relatives in the maternal line join up with him, but not his [593] own sons, because, as we know, these do not form part of his family and if they were wounded, their maternal relatives would present a claim for compensation payment against the father, and thus the number of his enemies would be increased. However, at the present time, through the influence of the civilizados, the son is following and backing up his father in spite of Guajiro law.

Another of the functions of the cacique is to counsel his people and those who recognize his authority and who seek his opinion in any of their problems. In these cases his advice is to be prudent. He exhorts them to comply with the law: He obliges the thief to return the stolen goods, and he reprimands him for his felonious action; he tries to arrange that those in enmity over the spilling of blood arrive at an equitable settlement to avoid later reprisals; he asks the women to be faithful to their husbands; he mediates in conjugal arguments and quarrels, trying to obtain from the men more consideration for their wives.

/164 cont./

592 602 611 3. In the collateral line the mother's sisters and their descendants.

4. His closest male relatives, his mother's brothers and those of his grandmother and great-grandmother, etc., in the maternal line.

5. The sons of the sisters of his mother, his grandmother, his great-grandmother, etc.

In this way, the kinship ties of the newborn child extend back indefinitely along the female line and extend forward in the same manner.

With respect to the kinship with individuals of the male sex, this is limited to the collateral branches and to the sons of female relatives. That is, the newborn child does not count male ascendants or the children of his male relatives as his own relatives. Furthermore, if the new baby is a boy he will not in the future count his own direct descendants as relatives.

592 593 It would be extremely difficult to make a separate study of the exercise of authority in the small family or in the extended family, because these two bodies so intimately interpenetrated due to their members living together that any analysis of them separately would be inaccurate; also, because of the effects of acculturation, the exercise of authority based on the consanguineous unit stemming from the traditional legal union reflects forms different from those developed according to legendary cultural patterns.

593 These two extremes -- traditional culture and culture influenced by whites -- cover an infinite range of varieties difficult to classify and must be studied as special cases (Cf. Marriage).

593 178 596 It is essential to recognize that in the civilizado-type home the influence of the maternal family tends to be nullified, a very slow process with regard to the totality of all the members, but a very rapid and effective one with regard to the maternal uncle, for in this case there occurs the phenomenon of transfer: All his influence passes to the father, who from that moment acquires and exercises all the authority delegated by Guajiro

/164 cont./

593 culture to the maternal uncle. Another phenomenon /165/ that develops in this type of marriage is the appearance of paternal relatives who are gradually acquiring places in kinship to the point that they almost hold positions similar to those held in our society. In fact, the children of a marriage so constituted begin to consider their father within the boundaries of their relatives; initially, he was not so considered, but by degrees, he is acquiring this manifest recognition in the act of their taking sides with him, being represented by him on outstanding occasions such as marriage, receiving help and assistance from him, and later on being his legitimate heirs.

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In the classical Guajiro home the outstanding authority is that of the maternal uncle, who surpasses the eldest person in order of importance. There can, however, be an exception when another of these relatives has acquired a position that is not only more prominent than any of his brothers but also extends its radius of action to all the clan group and even passes on to other clans. Individual personal merit or wealth may be the cause of the elevation of his status, which is fully recognized within the family to the point that he may supplant the brother who by chronological order he ought to obey. According to the [561] old order, age was the index of the exercise of authority, an arrangement that defined succession in case of death.

596 It also may occur that in any one of the different homes formed by each one of the sisters of a family, preferential deference and recognition is given to one of the sisters without taking into account the hierarchy established by age, status, etc.

This preference is due to the affinity shown by the mother for one of her brothers, a preference that has a reciprocal effect extending to the sons of the sister from whom he will receive greater respect. Beside respect the influence goes deeper and the effective assistance of this brother is greater than that rendered by the others. This is shown especially by his gifts at the birth of the children of the sister and above all by his taking charge personally of educating them in pasturing and in masculine

[29 cont.]

*756 When the woman becomes pregnant, the spirit puts up with
633 the situation without getting angry, but it does not show any such
834 patience if she delays a length of time in the sexual act with her husband, or if she sleeps by his side throughout the night.

The female shaman's obligation, in the sexual aspect, goes to the length of forcing her to be but a passive entity during coitus, not permitting her body the slightest motion and also not permitting any endearments from her husband before the sexual act. When these dispositions are disobeyed, the shaman finds
[787] herself suffering during the night from especially terrifying and horrible dreams which fill her with fears and anxieties.

*756 The man who marries a shaman gets to understand his
●693 wife's situation, and for this reason he is prudent in his actions: He does not demand anything but the strictly indispensable, and he is in accord with her in all matters related to her special state. [30]

*756 But in spite of all these prohibitions, the female shaman
776 who becomes pregnant receives aid from the spirit at the time
844 of giving birth. This assistance consists of an easy delivery of her baby and of counsel her spirit gives her on the simplest form of giving birth, the remedies she should take, etc.

*756 The shaman must not perform ceremonial acts of curing
841 when she is in her menstrual period because the patient will be-
843 come worse instead of improving. However, pregnancy does not present any obstacle to her activities, and she may accomplish cures during the entire period of gestation.

*756 In the case of a male shaman, the spirit permits him to be
834 with his wife, but for a very short time; he is also allowed, as
[595] are the rest of the Guajiro, to have several wives.

In summary, women shamans must cohabit exclusively with their husbands, avoiding all endearments, movements, the prolongation of coitus, and pregnancy. They may not exercise their functions during their menstrual periods. The male shaman also must be moderate in the sexual aspect and limit himself to his wife, or wives, as the case may be.

*756 The food taboo is limited to prohibiting the shaman from
262 eating the flesh of such animals as he has received in payment

[44 cont.]

411 some of the Guajiro communities during their pillaging expedi-
648 tions.
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The value of the arrow, considered to be infallible,
411 stemmed from the extremely important fact that its tip was
778 anointed with the blood of a sacrificed child. The arrow took
782 into itself, by magic contamination, the sacred and impure quality of the sacrificial ceremony performed on the child, [45] a quality of extreme value when one realizes that the child's own father performed the sacrifice.

782 The process is as follows: The Kusina, according to the story of our informant, an Indian woman from the Sierra de Jarara who had heard from her parents a great deal about the customs of these Indians, with whom the people of the Sierra had had dealings, were accustomed to take a male child from their own family. They carried him off to some distant hills situated in the interior of the Cocina sierra. They took him up a particular mountain, and on its summit under a pó (a special tree) they killed him. He was killed in this way: They blocked up his nostrils and squeezed his throat with their hands, that is, they strangled him, and with a pointed stone they struck his forehead several times continuously until blood flowed from it. This blood, which was exactly what they wished to obtain in the sacrifice, was not allowed to spill, but was gathered very carefully in a very clean utensil. In recent times the blood was collected in an empty tin such as those used for sardines or salmon, but it is to be supposed that in olden times a special ceramic container was used. Once the blood had been collected, they put it to boil in the same utensil in which it had been collected. Next they put it in another that in modern times was a glass container, although in former times it must have been of some other material, in order to preserve it. This utensil which contained the boiled blood of the boy was kept in the woods among stones
[593] which they collected for this purpose. The executioner, who was
[278] none other than the boy's father, had prepared beforehand a
[438] quantity of arrows tipped with the poison of a ray, which he later anointed with the blood and distributed among the rest of the Kusina natives or the Guajiro in general, in exchange for livestock. The price that had to be paid for one of these arrows was

[46 cont.]
411 when the respect due to his status is not shown (Cf. "Magic
435 and Funerals"), and particularly the spirit of those dead through
775 violence, we can better understand the high value they place on
the imára, or magic arrow.

593 It will be well to explain again the position of the father
611 in relation to his son in La Guajira. The family in this society follows matrilineal descent, and therefore the father is not really considered as father to his sons but is to his nephews, his sister's sons. The family ties between father and son are so weak that they do not exist except in certain secondary aspects of the family economic organization.

411 The use of the poisoned arrow among the Kusina Indians
539 is shown by the following fragment of a story told by the same
789 woman informant who supplied us with the data on which this present study is based and which refers to the struggle between a Guajiro Indian named Kurírа-páta and some Kusina Indians who arrived at his hamlet one night to steal his stock. The section dealing with the magic arrow, translated literally from the Guajiro text, is as follows: [47] "The Kusina shot (with a rifle) at Kurírа-páta, who came upon them from behind. They wounded him in the thigh. 'Now, it isn't possible to do anything,' said K.P. 'Let's kill him to end this once and for all,' said the Kusina. K.P. lifted himself on to his sound knee. He shot at them (with his rifle), killing one. Then the Kusina said, 'Let's kill him with the imára (poisoned arrow).'"

411 The fragment of this story corroborates the existence of
789 the magic arrow among the Kusina, and also, as previously stated, the fact that the poisoned arrow,— magic arrow to us — was the last recourse utilized by these Indians when their other weapons did not produce the desired result.

The area of distribution of this cultural element, as we have seen, was in the Sierra de Cocinas, and it was frequently used in Jarara, where it was obtained by purchase or by barter from the makers. This class of weapon used to be employed in this latter region — Jarara — in times of war. Now it is no longer used in either of the two areas mentioned for two reasons.
[197 First, the evangelizing action of the Capuchin fathers in the
178] Sierra de Jarara, who have, in the main, mitigated the warlike

3: Wilbert E-5 (ca. 1957) 1958 SC13 Goajiro SC13

582 As for the sanctioned forms of cousin marriage, Ego (m. and f.) may marry any cousins on either side except for mother's sister's children. Ego (m. and f.) may also marry any kinsman of the third degree with the exception of a mother's sister's daughter's child. All relatives of the fourth degree are potential spouses. [595] Polygyny is practiced and is definitely a mark of status and rank. Sororate is sanc- [554] tioned although it very rarely occurs. The data indicate, then, a very typical system [587] of Crow type.

602 No avoidance taboos were said to exist in Goajiro society, but great attention is paid to respectful behavior between kinsmen. In the family parents are respected [593] equally highly by the children, whereas among siblings the brother enjoys greater authority than his sisters, and an elder than a younger brother. In the presence of the maternal uncle nobody is supposed to speak up unquestioned; this rule applies especially to the younger people. Grandparents maintain close and friendly relations with their grandchildren. They make gifts to the latter: horses, bows and [431] arrows, drums, rifles, etc., and the grandchildren assist the old after having grown up. The father-in-law is respected greatly by his daughter-in-law. When visiting she serves him before she serves her mother-in-law. She does not, however, attend her own mother. Cousins are completely free to meet without being obliged to observe any avoidance regulations.

608 Artificial kin relations were said to be missing altogether among the Goajiro. 609 Non-relatives are treated with great friendliness and may even be accepted as 597 step-parents of an orphan of the group. Orphans usually join a family on the father's side.

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4: Petrullo E-5 (1935) 1937
SC13 Goajiro SC13

father's relatives who would eat the meat and drink the rum immediately, a feast to which the mother's relatives might be invited as a gesture of courtesy. The offering of rum and meat is voluntary, and even a friend may ask for something as an indication of deep personal interest in the welfare of the injured person. If the injured man makes no offering, no action is taken by anyone to make him do so, but he will acquire a 'bad name.' A Guajiro has a moral obligation to avoid shedding his own blood, but not a legal obligation. Since the father takes care of his son during his lifetime, this obligation is directed towards him and his relatives, but is extended to include any good friend.

Another example of the same distinction is the case where a son asks his father for a particular horse or object possessed by the latter, as a gift. The father is morally bound to grant the request, but there is no legal compulsion to do so. I gave a cacique a fine hunting knife which pleased him greatly. To my surprise his son was proudly wearing it the following day. On inquiring about it the cacique told me that his eldest son had asked for it. Had he refused to give it he would have been considered a bad father. The son inherits nothing from his father on the death of the latter, but while he is alive the son may beg anything within certain limits set by precedent. This moral obligation to give up a prized possession when asked for by one's sons is extended to include close friends.

Allowing the Guajiro to make their own distinctions, let us turn to a consideration of their 'laws.' The commission of certain acts, which in our society would give rise to criminal prosecution, in Guajiro society are considered matters to be settled by the parties concerned. Criminal law is practically non-existent. There is no body politic, properly speaking, that metes out punishment whether or not the injured party seeks redress, and social pressure can hardly be of any importance in a society that protects the individual through the instrument of family and casta membership. In only one case does there seem to be an approach to concerted social action. If an individual has caused his family much trouble and is incorrigible, if his family has been called upon to pay for his mis-

5: Simons K-5 (ca. 1882) 1885
SC13 Goajiro SC13

88 [868] weaving, making dresses, hammocks, sashes, &c., sewing, and all the little knick-knacks Indians love so well.

The confinement is not so isolated as it seems, generally several of her female relations are round the door with the enclosed, who of course becomes rather stout, much blanched, almost white, and some exceedingly beautiful. Strangers and men are not excluded from peeping in through [584] the door, always with an eye to matrimony, and she can be sold and liberated at once, though her husband if rich prefers leaving her to complete her term of schooling. On re-entering to society again, a special festival, *ahuitis*, is held with dancing, &c. An ox is killed, and the girl is dressed in the clothes she has made; her hair is cut and she resumes all her beads, necklaces, bracelets, and other ornaments.

562 [579] Women are much respected by the Goajiros. In a quarrel or drunken brawl, women often save bloodshed by stopping in and tearing the weapons out of their husband's or brother's hand. Travelling with women is consequently perfectly safe, and in case of danger, if one undertakes to protect a stranger, he may rely upon coming out all right.

583 Matrimony is a mere case of barter. The girl is sold for a certain price, fixed by the father. This is paid by the intended husband, and divided by the father, who appropriates the best part for himself and his relations, the rest going to the wife's relations. As it is chiefly in 585 cattle, these are killed and a kind of bridal festival held. There is no other ceremony. A wife is under obligation to support her husband, 593 find him in food, clothes, &c. She does most of the trading, and a [467] contract made with an Indian is worthless, should his better half object. An Indian cannot inflict bodily injury on his wife, for he becomes liable [583] to her relations, and should she die during childbirth he has to repay the father what he gave for her. But if the wife is untrue (a rare occurrence) [684] he demands from the father the price he paid for her, who if he cannot refund, helps him to recover from the seducer, plus tear or compensation from his mother-in-law. At the husband's death, the 587 wife becomes a legacy to his brother, usually the youngest; if there are 769 none, then his nephew inherits her. The daughter of a chief is worth, 583 according to his wealth and power (i. e. the number of men he can dispose of in a fight) from 6 to 150 head of cattle (12*l.* to 300*l.*).

764 When a person dies, a grand drinking festival is given, that lasts as long as there is anything to drink—days, and even weeks, with the wealthy. These latter are buried twice, and have two festivals. A rich person is always buried in the rancho, and on the spot where he was born; being often carried for that purpose immense distances. A fire is lighted every night from sunset to sunrise in front of the grave, for the sole use of the dead. Immense piles of wood are gathered for this purpose, as the body is kept two years in the house. Then all the relations can meet on a certain day, and the second feast takes place, when the bones are carefully gathered, placed in a jar, and consigned to the

6: Santa Cruz E-5 (1940) 1941
SC13 Goajiro SC13

The foregoing behavior pattern applies only in regard to a senior maternal uncle and his senior nephew. No such behavior is prescribed between father and son, nor between other uncles and nephews. There is no prescribed rule that either the father or the son must show respect for the other. They would not apparently be subjected to any public criticism at all should they be disrespectful, but in all cases where the present writer had occasion to see father and son together, there were always indications of respect to each other, especially by the son toward his father. That this behavior is not prescribed and that it is the result of regard or other factors is clear from the fact that the present writer was informed on several occasions while investigating this subject that there are cases in which father and sons who lack affection to each other would quarrel, even in public, without being criticised. The writer, however, did not personally witness any such cases. The same can be said regarding the conduct between an individual and his uncles other than his senior maternal uncle. Signs of respect are shown all along the line but this is not a prescribed rule. All information gathered on the subject by the writer points to the conclusion that the above pattern of conduct is prescribed between only senior maternal uncle and senior nephew; signs of respect toward the father or the other uncles are apparently shown only out of mutual affection or other personal motives. Public opinion censures any breach in the first case, while it disregards or is indifferent to any breach in the second case.

The following illustrative case throws some light on the situation. During one of the sessions held with Rafael, his son Ilaro was present and shortly afterward we were joined by Ilaro's senior maternal uncle. The moment the uncle stepped into the hut, Ilaro got up from his place and did not resume it until his uncle was well seated. All during the conversation prior to the coming of the uncle, Ilaro had been putting in remarks to the questions asked of his father and the latter did not seem to mind. After the uncle came in, although Ilaro's attention to what was going on did not falter, he restrained himself from making any further remarks and let his uncle make them instead. Only once did Ilaro make a remark, and this was only after

6: Santa Cruz E-5 (1940) 1941
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604 593 having asked the permission of his uncle, and when he had finished he asked his uncle's opinion on the subject, something he had not asked of his father prior to his uncle's arrival. In every way Ilaro showed respect toward his uncle, although as has been previously pointed out, contacts between the two are neither close nor numerous. At one time the uncle made a remark which apparently was not in agreement with Ilaro's opinion. However, Ilaro did not speak until his uncle was gone, which was a good two hours later. Ilaro remembered the remark, however, and reverting to it, gave his opinion, asking the present writer not to mentioned it to his uncle. The matter was of little importance, having to do with the proper selection of a bough for the manufacture of a bow. A breach of this prescribed pattern of behavior would have brought public criticism, and the guilty party would have had no excuse.

604 As regards the behavior between an individual and all his other uncles, data were secured on various occasions. One illustration will suffice. It again concerns Ilaro. The day before his departure the writer was given a feast by Rafael, to which the latter invited nearly all of his relatives by blood and by marriage who could come. Consequently there was plenty of opportunity to observe the behavior of Ilaro toward his uncles. Toward Calleja, Ilaro's behavior was exactly the same as on the occasion described above. Toward his other uncles a certain deference was shown, but not nearly as much as toward Calleja. For example, Ilaro showed no hesitation in interrupting his other uncles' speech, which he did on various occasions. This gave rise to no criticism of him.

So far we have been dealing with the behavior in public between the senior nephew and his senior maternal uncle. Naturally no such observation was possible in regard to the private relations between the two, that is, when nephew and uncle are together by themselves. However, judging from what informants said, it appears that the behavior of the nephew in private is very much the same as in public, if he expects inheritance from his uncle, because were he to depart from the conventional, the uncle would disinherit him. On the other hand, if the nephew expects no such inheritance, and the uncle is thus

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so. One writer says that an old woman from those hills claimed to know how the arrows were poisoned. Otherwise, she said, only the Cusina knew the secret. That seems most doubtful, for the Cusina brigands are neither a class nor a clan which might possess special secrets, but merely a collection of outlawed criminals. There were many indications that they made considerable use of poisoned arrows and that they were firmly convinced of their efficacy. Even if death had been inflicted already by other means, they usually shot their victims with poisoned arrows as well, as an additional safeguard against their escaping. The Cusina and Cojoro Hills belong to the same complex.

The old woman in the Cojoro Hills said that the secret in the Cusina's way of preparing the arrows was a human sacrifice. A small boy was taken to a lonely place, where he was killed and some of his blood taken. This was later cooked and the arrows dipped in it. The old woman's account made this ritual murder even more gruesome, in that it made the boy's father the executioner. Of course, in Guajira a father has quite a different relationship to his children to that we know, being scarcely accounted in the same family, yet even from the Indian point of view, that must seem cruel. It would be different if the child were one who had been captured in war or bought as a slave.

There is no confirmation of the old woman's statement and it may well have been invented. There are many legends about these poisoned arrows. The woman's account does not mean that the arrows were poisoned by means of the sacrifice, merely that their strength was increased. Blood is always a magical element. If such rites really took place, that would surely point to an African influence brought by runaway negro slaves. The old woman's story, however, scarcely explains how the poison contained tetanus germs. Simmons, the traveller to whom she gave that account of what happened, also said that the poisoned arrows, *imard*, were sold by the Cusina, who asked eight *varas*, or ten yards, of cotton cloth for twenty-four. How these tetanus arrows were made remains a mystery that, perhaps, may never be solved.

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585 Mauana said that while she is in confinement a girl will
[881] have been taught, among other things, the attentions custom requires her to show her husband.

When he arrives home, she hastens to hang up his ham-
593 mock and offer him something to drink. She at once prepares
[264] a meal, if one is not yet ready. The master of the house has his own crockery, from which he alone eats, and his wife must see that he has his favourite dishes and that they are properly cooked. If he has returned from a journey or from hunting, she must see that he has water to wash in and a clean guayuco. Once he has taken his place in the hammock, she sits on the ground and tells him the day's events. If he falls asleep, she sits in silence.

When the husband's friends or other people come to see
[574] him, the wife's place is again on the ground beside his hammock. She does not butt in upon the men's conversation, but knows how to be amusing if she is spoken to. She must see that each guest has a hammock to rest in and offer everyone refreshments. Men are proud to have such a hostess for a wife.

[574] In the husband's absence a wife must receive visitors courteously, but observe caution, if they are men. She will hang a hammock under a roofed shelter close to the house, but will not let the visitor inside. She will then offer him refreshments and sit down beside his hammock with some handwork.

It goes without saying that she must take good care of her husband's belongings and property, for he is often forced to be away with his herds. She must also take care of her
[273] husband himself, when he is drunk, as he not infrequently is. When fights occur at feasts, the women, as we know,
[579] throw themselves between the men to avoid bloodshed. A wife is responsible for her husband, when he is drunk. If she has not bothered to keep an eye on him and he is beaten or killed, the fault is hers. Or he may take his own life
[762] while intoxicated—suicide for mere trifles is not unusual—and then too she can be held responsible, if she has not intervened. If he hurts her or destroys any of her things while he is drunk, she knows that he will make rich amends

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later, for he has been brought up always to try and make things right.

During her period of isolation a girl also learns how to satisfy her husband erotically and always to be ready, when he is excited. To retain his love she may employ magic as well as her own natural powers of attraction. Knowing that a woman loses some of her looks and attraction during pregnancy, wives often try, after having had several children, to hinder fertilization by taking certain herbal drugs and by magical means.

'Polygamy is permitted, is it not, Mauana?'

'Yes, a man can take several wives. As long as he pays the bride-price, no one can say anything, but her family would never allow a better-class girl to become the second wife of anyone. And you see, custom decrees that a Guajiro wife, whether the first or a concubine, must acquiesce if the husband takes a new wife. Similarly, it is considered that wives ought to live in peace and friendship. They must receive a new concubine cordially and all show their best side to the husband. They must help each other to watch the children and not display jealousy if the husband prefers one to the others.

'That is how it should be, but the reality is quite different. Very often the wives live in the same house, which naturally leads to conflict more easily than when each has her own hut. Jealousy or envy are common in these harems. Enmity and quarrelling are not infrequent, nor is actual fighting. The wives spy upon each other, destroy each other's things and make all sorts of scenes. One or other perhaps comes to hate the husband. It is said that a certain man, who shall be nameless, had noticed something of the sort and did not dare to be at home while a family feud lasted. An enemy could have bribed one of his wives to put poison in his maize beer.'

'That does not sound pleasant!'

'No, polygamy undoubtedly has its drawbacks!' Mauana agreed. 'I myself have only one wife, but several bed slaves,' he added with an artful look in his eye.

Even though all a man's marriages are considered legal,

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will go to have him fall in disgrace. Whether these accusations are true or false is not our concern in this article.

Summing up Perez's position in Guajiro society we find the following facts: Among the older and more influential men, Perez is not considered as one of them and their attitude towards him is not a respectful one. He on the contrary is quite respectful towards them. No one, however, among this group can be classified as his enemy, and they do seek him out for advice in their dealings with Government officials. Among his contemporaries he enjoys a very influential position and practically everyone seeks his friendship. His true friends are to be found, without question, among this group, and, as far as it could be investigated, he has no real enemies among them, although there may be a few who envy his position. The younger generations are clearly divided into two groups—one group which truly respects and looks up to him, and another which is composed of his bitter enemies.

From the many formal and informal conversations the present writer has had with Perez—at his home, while traveling, when visiting some one else, etc.—the following analysis may be made of his behavior and position. While in Maracaibo, Perez soon became aware that he could attain no high status within a white culture where competition is always very keen. As Prefect of Sinamaica he clearly saw the possibilities of climbing up the ladder in Guajiro society and the first step he took towards that goal was to marry a full-blooded Indian girl from an important family, and to marry her in accordance with the traditional Guajiro law. There was very little chance for him to obtain the necessary wealth and to attain leadership status through property, but he saw the opportunity his semi-official position gave him to become the point of contact between the Guajiro and white cultures, cultivating both and becoming an almost indispensable person in the dealings the true natives had with the authorities. Whether his marriage to the Guajiro girl was purely for interest or whether there was any love involved is, of course, very difficult to say. As the writer made his headquarters in Perez's household at the Laguna del Pajaro, during his stay in the Guajira, he was able to observe, at first hand, the relationship between Perez and his native wife. These were always

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cordial, no fights or even harsh words between them was ever noticed, and when Perez was arrested, as mentioned before, his wife showed great concern and distress and did everything possible to have him released from jail and brought home. Still the question of how much real affection, especially on Perez's part, is involved in this marriage cannot be answered with certainty. As regards the grantings of favors to the Guajiro, it is obvious that he makes a careful selection and never or hardly ever grants them to indivduals who could not, in the future, be of some help to him.

Whether or not Perez will attain a position of respect and leadership such as Panchito Silva and José de la Rosa Fernandez enjoy is hard to say, but the writer will try to make an analysis of the situation and draw certain tentative conclusions.

There is no doubt that clan leadership with all its privileges and responsibilities is slowly dying out in the Guajira. Among the 25 odd clans existing at present the writer has met only two individuals who have all the earmarks of a true economic, political, and social leader, namely, Panchito Silva and José de la Rosa Fernandez. Informants have told him that there are two others, the heads of the Epinavú and the Epieyú clans living in the upper Guajira and in Colombia respectively. From what information was gathered these two other leaders fit closely to the pattern described for Silva and Fernandez. The remainder of the clans have no true, powerful leaders, although they do have elder members who are more or less respected and consulted in certain clan matters. Around the turn of the century, however, according to the information gathered first hand from old men like Silva and Fernandez, and from the literature, there were at least twenty powerful leaders among the clans.

Undoubtedly one of the contributing factors to the breakdown of clan leadership has been the great horizontal movement in population among the Guajiro in the last fifty years. Such spread would tend, naturally, to break down the regional characteristics of the clan and ultimately help to bring about a loss of personal contact between a leader and the rest of his clan and hence the loss of control. Whether there are other economic, social, or political factors in operation favoring this breakdown is not fully known. The writer suspects that there may be but this problem would need further intensive investigation. The